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Nom. *gumnar* with *n* from Gen. pl. is more common than *gumar*, appearing 14 times. Acc. pl. *gumna* is found 4 times, *guma* 3. *Gumnom* is the regular Dat. pl. cited 10 times throughout all periods, but *gumum* in *Darra*. 10. By the intrusion of the Gen. *n* a full declension in *n* forms resulted. The original forms without *n* persisted, however, from which by analogy a new Gen. *guma* was formed, as *óverðr guma ferðir*, *Harms*. 27 and 6 other examples, which form belongs to the 12th century.

Monosyllabic stems: Dat. *mæðr* of *moðir* occurs once (*ok mæðr þinni*, *Völ*. 27), as also *ðetr*. The regular Dat. of *foðr* is *feðr* but *foður* is cited in compounds 5 times, otherwise *føðr* is the regular form in compounds in Nom.-Acc., *foðrs* in Gen. Nom. sing., *feðr* occurs in *Jóns feðr Hnikars veðri*, *Sturl* 1. 290, a form that becomes frequent in the *Rímur*. Under *nd*-stems the pl. *búendr* is noted as the regular, only one certain example of *bændr* having been found. In *vissak fjandr at fundi*, *G. Surss*. 65, the assonance furnishes proof of the pronunciation *fjandr* (not *fiandr*), however, this being the regular form. But in the Eddic poems the metre never requires the contracted forms. The author cites 78 *nd*-stems with plural in *-endr*. In the 13th century they assume the *-ar*, *a*- plurals of the *an*-stems as *optveitandar leita*, *Nj*. 1. 191.

Students of Old Norse will be grateful to Professor Jónsson for his highly important contribution to O.N. grammar. An index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book.

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UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,
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Hugo Pipping, *Gotländska studier*. Upsala, Akademiska bokhandeln (C. J. Lundström). 1901. iv + 136 pages + 2 plates.

The old dialect of the Swedish Island of Gotland occupies a peculiar position among the Scandinavian idioms. It is generally looked upon as a Swedish dialect; but it differs more from the old language of Sweden (in the proper sense) than does for instance Old Swedish from Old Danish. The East Scandinavian branch of the old Scandinavian languages may therefore quite as well be

divided into three different languages : Swedish, Danish, Gotlandic. The reasons for including Gotlandic among the Swedish dialects are merely secondary and external and by no means founded on the intrinsic peculiarities of the language itself ; Gotland with neighboring Isles has for a long time been politically a province of Sweden and is situated not far from the Swedish coast. Moreover the literary monuments written in the old language of Gotland are very scarce, the only one of any great importance being the old Law of Gotland. This Law has been handed down in two mss. written in the dialect of Gotland ; besides it was translated into Low German and into Danish. Of the older one of these two mss. (*Cod. Holm. B.* 64) there are three editions (Hadorph 1687, Schlyter 1852, Säve 1859) ; the younger one (*Cod. A. M.* 54, 40) had not been edited before the appearance of the volume to be reviewed here, although in editions of *Cod. Holm. B.* 64 readings not to be found in this ms. were given from *Cod. A. M.*

The first half of Dr. Pipping's book is taken up by an edition of the latter ms. This edition has been executed in a most careful manner, the aim of the editor having been to give as true and complete a picture of the ms. as possible. He therefore refrains from emendating the text, even such passages of the same as are evidently corrupt and easily corrected. Apparently we may use the edition with the same confidence as if we had the ms. itself before us, the slightest dot or line having been noted with the most painstaking accuracy.

The material from which our knowledge of the old language of Gotland is to be derived being very scanty, the edition in question must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the same. And I think the principles according to which the work has been done must meet with our approval ; all conclusions to be drawn from the material offered by this special edition would better be drawn from the text in its actual shape than from an emendated text.

To this edition is appended a chapter containing various notes on the ms. (pp. 71–85). We know exactly not only the name of the scribe but also the circumstances under which the ms. was written. It was copied in the year 1587 (consequently at a rather recent date)¹ by the clergyman David Bilefeld from a book written in 1470.

¹ The other ms. was written ca. 1350.

Bilefeld himself was born in Denmark, which fact may account for some Danisms in his ms. although the ms. of 1470, which is now unfortunately lost, may also have been written by a Dane.

The following and last chapter (pp. 87-134) is entitled "Strödda iagtagelser" (Various observations). We here find several notes on the Gotlandic language in early and recent times, some of which are valuable contributions to the history of the Scandinavian languages. The results of these "observations" may here be briefly summed up.

Huti in both mss.¹ need not be emended into *heiti* but is the pres. conj. of the verb *huta* 'to call out, cry,' 'herbeirufen' (identical with ms. *hūtin*, *howten*, cf. Ekwall *Shakespeare's Vocabulary*, Upsala, 1903).—*Lyndir* in the older codex is an error for *loyndir*, as is clearly shown by the younger ms.—Then follows a section dealing with the chronology of the modern Gotlandic diphthongs. By means of some early spellings the author attempts to show that the Old Gotlandic long vowels were diphthongized as early as the fifteenth century. This may very well be so, but in one case I think the author has made a mistake. In Old Gotlandic as well as in the modern dialects there is no *ō*-sound. In loan-words from Swedish proper the *ō*-sound was therefore superseded by a diphthong. Dr. Pipping thinks *döj̃r* '(he)dies' in the ms. is an early example of this diphthong for a continental Swedish *ō* (O. Swed *dā* (*ia*) inf., *dār* pres. sg.).² But he seems to have overlooked the fact that the spelling *doj̃r* '(he)dies' occurs several times in the same ms. (8 v 8, 24 v 1, 13, 25 r 11). This spelling no doubt represents the regular native Gotlandic form and is thoroughly identical with *doyr* in the older ms. The spelling *döj̃r* is no doubt to be explained as an error for *doj̃r*. The scribe had at first wrongly put the *ȳ*-dots above the *o*, and after having noticed his mistake he put two dots above the *y* without erasing the other dots. The letter *ö* occurs in two other cases in the same ms. (*ogömslu* 17 v 4, *öffuir* 19 v 6); it is here possibly due to Danish influence. Pp. 91-95 the author offers some remarks concerning the different spellings of forms of the word 'two.' In the older codex the Teutonic diphthong *ai* is

¹Dr. Pipping quotes this form from leaf 42 r 6 of the younger ms. This is a misprint for 43 r 6.

²In his paper on *Runinskrifterna på nyfunna Ardre-stenarne* (Upsala and Leipsig 1901), Dr. Pipping writes p. 62 *döyr* instead of *döj̃r*.

generally written *ai*; only in forms of the word 'two' (*tueir*, *tueim*) and in a few other cases do we find *ei*. This fact Prof. Kock has tried to explain by assuming that *ai* had under certain circumstances become *ei* in Old Gotlandic. The ingenious explanation offered by Dr. Pipping is, however, evidently correct. He assumes that the scribe of the ms. in question was in the habit of writing *ei*, whereas in the ms. he copied only *ai* occurred. He followed his original very closely, but a few times his own habit prevailed. The numeral 'two' may in the original have been written figures; and when transcribing these figures into letters he naturally fell back into his own habit of writing *ei*. Pp. 95-130 Dr. Pipping deals with the *i*-mutation in Old Gotlandic. He originates a new theory concerning the chronology and general conditions of the Scandinavian *i*-mutation. He here enters on questions which belong to the most involved and most disputed ones in Scandinavian philology. It would carry us too far to enter in full into Dr. Pipping's views on the subject. Ingenious as they are, they seem however not to be conclusive. In some particulars Dr. Pipping has modified his views in his paper on "*I- Umlaut und u- Brechung in den nordischen Sprachen*" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* Helsingfors, 1902). Subsequently the problem in question has been dealt with very closely by Mr. Ebbe Tuneld in his criticism of Dr. Pipping's book in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* xix, N. F. xv, p. 367 sq. Mr. Tuneld's views differ widely from Dr. Pipping's. But also here we find many points which may still seem open to discussion. I can here only offer a brief report of Dr. Pipping's views and refer those who wish to make the question the subject of closer study to Dr. Pipping's and Mr. Tuneld's papers, and to previous works on the subject quoted by these authors. Before the time of the *i*-syncope, according to Dr. Pipping, *i*-mutation was caused only by such *i*-sounds as were especially weakly stressed, or, as Pipping states it, "i dynamiskt hänseende stodo lägst på skalan." These *i*-sounds were 1) the consonantal *i*-sounds: **harja*- > **herja*- (< *hër*-); 2) *i*-sounds preceded by a long stressed syllable: **ðömiðo* > *ðämiðö* (> *ðämða*); 3) *i*-sounds preceded by a short stressed syllable and followed by *R* (< *z*): **fariR* > **feriR* (> *ferr*); *i*-sounds which were not followed by *R* did not have a sufficiently weak stress to cause *i*-mutation. After the *i* mutation had taken place all these

i sounds were syncopated. But the *i*-mutation tendency still remain and now went so far as to allow even such *i*'s as were preserved under a subordinate stress (starker nebenton') to cause *i*-mutation. In words of the type **tāliðō* > *talða* *i*-mutation did not take place because immediately before the time of the syncope *i* was too strongly stressed to be able to cause *i*-mutation. The stress then was so quickly reduced into *o* (syncope), that the *i*-sound, as it were, got no time for influencing the preceding vowel. But such a quick reduction, in Dr. Pipping's view, only took place in continental Swedish. In Old Gotlandic, according to Dr. Pipping, the vowel of a short syllable was subject to *i*-mutation, even when the weakly stressed *i* (which was subsequently syncopated) was not followed by *R*; thus the regular development of *urnord. *tāliðo* was Gotlandic **telde*. This Dr. Pipping tries to prove by means of very numerous examples. Most of these cases are, on the other hand, looked upon by Mr. Tuneld as due to analogy, some of them he considers to be due to Low German influence. I prefer to leave the questions discussed by Pipping and Tunel open. So much I think, however, I am entitled to say that but for Dr. Pipping's ingenious points of view and but for the valuable material he has so carefully collected, many questions involved by the problems he discusses would not have been brought so near to their definite solution as they seem to be now.—The last pages of the book (p. 130 ff.) are devoted to the development of Teutonic *auh* in Old Gotlandic. It has been almost generally assumed that the change of *auh* > *ōh* (> *ō*) which is for instance found in O. West Scand. *þó* 'though' was common to all Scandinavian languages. Dr. Pipping proves, however, by means of the material which has been accessible to him, that Teutonic *au* was left unchanged before *h* in Gotlandic and that *auh* after the loss of medial and final *h* became Gotlandic *au*. The words to be taken into consideration are: *haur* 'high' (O.W. Scand. *hór*, Gothic *hauhs*), *þau* 'though, yet' (O.W. Scand. *þó*, O. Swed. *pō*, *þā*, Goth. *þau*, *þauh*), *Lau* proper name (O.W. Scand. *-lō*).

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